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Man can live in outer space

That's what scientists working for the Government on problems of survival far outside the earth's atmosphere say. The photo above shows one of the devices being tested to make good their claim. It is a pressure cell with its own built-in atmosphere. Some of the controls are inside, to be operated by the crewman, some are outside. The scientists are trying to make certain that man can fly beyond the atmosphere without his tissues exploding or his blood cells dying. For our taste we would prefer that they work on a similar project for the earth itself—to make sure that man can live in inner space. A fine start would be to announce that no further hydrogen bomb tests will be held—anywhere on earth.

BATISTA'S "BITTER SUGAR"

Behind Cuba's unrest

By Elmer Bendiner

THE FORTUNES of the dictator of Cuba, Gen. Fulgencio Batista, are closely tied to the sugar crop. Both are controlled by Washington and for both this looks like a bad year.

There have been riots by students, nationwide strikes (despite a tame, controlled leadership of the trade union movement), bloodshed, attempted coups and rumors of more to come. There are two aspects to the trouble. First, Cubans have fought too long and bitterly for a democratic government to be easily managed by a dictator. Cubans in the past have had flourishing independent trade unions, a tradition of political free-for-alls, a student movement that continually sparks national upsurges, and a homegrown, deeply rooted radicalism. The other aspect, perhaps the deadlier for Batista's hopes, is economic: the Caribbean curse of "bitter sugar."

Cuba is a sugar island; other crops and industries are secondary. It has been a sugar reserve for the U. S. In wartime when the U. S. demand for sugar is high, Cuba's economy booms.

AFRAID OF PEACE: Batista sees in war

(Continued on Page 8)

WAR & PEACE

UN head optimistic on Mideast peace; Israel-Burma treaty

AFTER 25 DAYS of shuttling between Israel and the Arab countries, UN Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold returned to the U.S. last week with the belief that his mission had been accomplished.

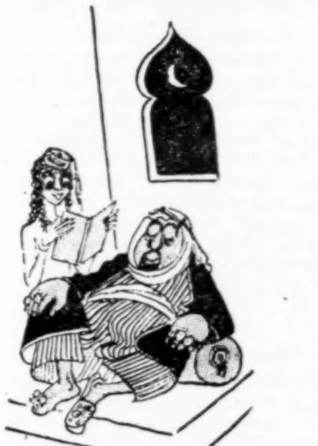
Sent to the Middle East by the UN Security Council to try to restore cease-fire on the armistice demarcation line, Hammarskjold consulted the governments of Israel, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. From Rome—before returning to the U. S.—he sent the UN Security Council an interim report:

"Reciprocal assurances [by Israel and Egypt] served to relieve the threatening situation in the Gaza area.... Negotiations for similar assurances unconditionally to observe a cease-fire, with a reservation as to self-defense, have been conducted with the parties to the other three armistice agreements. The negotiations have in all cases been concluded with positive results."

TRUCE TEAMS AIDED: Arriving in the U. S., Hammarskjold remarked that his "unique . . . assignment has shown that the UN can be directly helpful to member governments in their wish to re-establish order and maintain peace." He started at once to prepare his final report.

The agreements were designed to strengthen the hands of the UN truce teams in preventing armistice demarcation line violations. They provided for an increase in the number of UN observers on the spot; stationing observers permanently in some particularly sensitive positions; mobile patrols with freedom of movement for a limited period, apparently until Oct. 31.

UN Truce Supervision chief Maj. Gen. E. L. M. Burns was reported to be already in Gaza to implement the agreements and to try to get both Israel and Egypt to adopt further measures to remove friction points. "According to Egyptian sources," the **N. Y. Times** reported (5/5), "both sides expressed the opinion that the sooner these measures were put to work the greater would be the chances that the cease-fire would work."



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"—no sooner had Ali Baba pronounced the magic words 'Open Sesame' than he found himself in an enormous cave packed with Cadillacs, Coca-Cola, and the largest block of oil shares east of Suez!"

THE BASIC CAUSES: Despite the agreements, there was a general feeling at the UN that the Hammarskjold mission has not affected the basic causes of conflict in the Middle East. Syria continued to maintain that it signed the agreements with the reservation that Israel must not start its Jordan river development. Although Israel made no such promise in writing, Hammarskjold implied that he had obtained private assurance from Is-

(Continued on Page 8)

DULLES A BUST AS A TRAVELLING SALESMAN

Why Asia is kissing U. S. goodbye

By Kumar Goshal

THE APRIL 5 parliamentary election in Ceylon, in which the pro-U. S. government of Premier Sir John Kotelawala suffered an inglorious defeat, dramatically demonstrated the total bankruptcy of Washington's Southeast Asia policy.

Defeat of the Kotelawala government followed a sharp increase in economic cooperation agreements between the socialist and the underdeveloped countries of the region as well as an increase in the spread of neutralist ideas in Southeast Asia. The U. S. press was shocked into realizing how low American prestige has sunk in Asia. The Washington **Post** (4/22) headlined a series: "Red Charm Making Us Oafs in Asia;" and a **N. Y. Times** survey (4/11, 4/12) carried the headlines: "U. S. Needs to Emphasize Peace, Survey in Southeast Asia Shows," "U. S. Lacking in Tact in Far East, Survey Finds."

WHAT WENT BEFORE: Ironically—and significantly—enough, the sharp decline in U. S. prestige followed the February SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) military exercise off the Thailand coast and Secy. of State Dulles' March tour of the region. The SEATO military maneuver, instead of showing unity of the U. S. and its allies, turned out to be "a sort of Armed Forces' Day demonstration of U. S. military men and equipment." And the March 6 Karachi, Pakistan, conference of SEATO military commanders, which Dulles attended, disclosed, according to a British observer, that "SEATO shows more chinks than links" (Washington **Post**, 4/22).

Dulles began his Southeast Asia tour in Pakistan, which "has staggered on the rim of bankruptcy and oblivion throughout its nine-year history" (**Newsweek**, 4/30). Since he had no economic assistance other than increased military aid to offer, the Pakistani government upon his departure for India quietly began negotiating a trade treaty with a Soviet delegation.

TRADE WITH RUSSIA: The U. S. Secy. fared no better in India. After he left New Delhi, Indian government representatives negotiated a long-range trade

(Continued on Page 9)

IN THIS ISSUE

THE FOREIGN BORN
Police state parole ....p. 3
ARABS & ISRAELI
War is no answer ....p. 4
ROSENBERG GHOSTS
The witnesses talk ....p. 5
MONTGOMERY RIDES
In the car pool ....p. 7
POLAND REAPPRAISES
Ursula Wassermann .....p. 9

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REPORT TO READERS

Ever put out a paper in a barrel jungle?

WITH DEEPEST GRATITUDE, interim acknowledgment is hereby offered to you who have responded so readily and generously to our hasty call for help "to clean the slate and move ahead." When the machinery gets going again (we are putting out this week's paper in a transplanted jungle of barrels, cartons and unidentified brown-paper parcels) every booster will get a letter of acknowledgment and thanks for the specified amounts you sent.

Our new quarters (third and fourth story walk-up over our printshop) face south on East Fourth Street in Manhattan's fabulous East Side. This is the neighborhood (as movie-goers know well) where Jimmy Cagney was born and learned to speak Yiddish like a true East Side Irishman. To the south of us is the venerable Essex Street Retail Market, now housed in neat brick and masonry covering several blockfronts, although the ancient pushcarts still abound along Avenue C, two blocks east of us. Along the East River are the towering public housing developments (Lillian D. Wald, Bernard Baruch and Alfred E. Smith houses) where desegregation was built in with the foundations and, as our municipal radio station reminds us hourly, millions of Americans of all races and creeds live together in peace.

The "peace" is occasionally breached, of course, but wise heads usually seem to prevail. Just yesterday, outside the school across the street, two little girls got tangled in one another's hair over places in line for some game they were playing, and a slightly older girl moved in to quiet things. She heard the conflicting plaints, then turned to the aggressor and announced to her gravely: "You're gonna be penalized."

WELL, THAT'S OUR NEW NEIGHBORHOOD. Out the back windows the leaves are busting out on a brave little forest of ailanthus trees (the legendary tree that grows in Brooklyn, and about everywhere else in New York backyards). We feel a lot closer to life as she is lived by the many, than we felt in our old place a half block from Mayor Wagner's Cadillac-ranked City Hall. And, for your thousands of responses (which are still coming in at a good pace), we feel a lot closer to you, too. Let's get together more often, as the saying goes, and find out among us what we ought to be doing to move ahead the purposes which bring us together as newspaper and readers.

As our old friend Kries Kaleff writes from L.A.:

Every obstacle is for the better
Every challenge is for more courage.
Transplanted, the plant grows faster, healthier;
And the faith, on having it,
To make it affirmative.

And you, good friend who have not yet responded, haven't you something to add?

— THE GUARDIAN

THE MAIL BAG

A vote for Lamont

BELL, CALIF.

Our thanks to Dr. DuBois for rousing us from our lethargy! We feel quite sure he made that unpopular "stay home" statement for just such shock reaction.

So, let's go! We suggest a GUARDIAN-sponsored write-in convention, through which we readers shall nominate a real progressive candidate for President. We nominate Corliss Lamont!

The McDonoughs.

For Estes Kefauver

AUSABLE FORKS, N. Y.

May I add my voice to that of your many correspondents who don't think that the current election year is one in which we should sit down and sulk. At this stage of the game our allegiance doesn't hang upon the choice of the better of several evils, for in Estes Kefauver we have a major party candidate who by his words and by his record in support of them is just about as good a man and as advanced a liberal as we have ever had among new aspirants for the Presidency.

If Kefauver fails to get the Democratic nomination, I can think of no man who would make a better Third Party candidate.

Rockwell Kent.

Independence

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Militant independence is the most productive role for the progressive citizen today, pending the birth and functioning of the coming third party.

We agree with Dr. DuBois—don't get sucked into ham-stringing alliance with the top politicos of either party. There may be a few mavericks around operating on lower levels in the Old Parties with a degree of independence that would merit cautious support. But our most important business today is not the support of old-party lesser evils but the bold, uncompromising advocacy of progressive principles whose advocacy will change the political climate.

Further, it appears we agree with the head of the AFL-CIO, George Meany, who said in a recent address to the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. in Washington:

"We couldn't buy the Democratic Party with their 'Dixiecrats' and their record on civil rights and we couldn't buy the Republican Party with its subservience to big business."

Principled progressives at this hour should guard against "isolating" themselves in the Democratic Party!

Bill Smith.

NOTICE

The new address of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN is 197 E. Fourth St., New York 9, New York. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800. However, all mail addressed to us at 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7, will be forwarded to our new address promptly.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

JACKSON, Miss., Apr. 25. (UP)—A Public Service Commissioner today planned to ask telephone companies to maintain segregation on party lines.

Commissioner Norman A. Johnson Jr. said he had received several complaints about "Negroes and whites being on the same party line" and would ask for segregation to "avoid a big commotion."

N. Y. **Herald Tribune**
April 26, 1956.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: R. L., N. Y. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

Changes ahead?

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

No doubt a write-in vote is preferable to no vote, and any attempt to organize any kind of decent opposition party is certainly admirable; but I think the fact remains that in essence Dr. DuBois is right—the present situation in our country is hopeless as long as conditions remain as they are. Of course, changes are going on all the time, such as in Montgomery; and perhaps even by summer a very different situation may exist.

Al Amery.

Russian reappraisal

CUMMINGTON, MASS.

Having always had the critical attitude Florence Woodard recommends, my reaction to the Russian Reappraisal seems to be different from that of your readers who have expressed themselves and this is it:

1. The vicious attack on Stalin is exactly like the vicious attacks and smears that our worst politicians have been spewing at F. D. R. ever since he was laid in his grave. Such nastiness is as unnecessary to any reappraisal and change of policy as it is inexcusable.

2. Messrs. Khrushchev and Bulganin might as well be repeating word for word everything that the "capitalist press" has been saying against the U. S. S. R. for the last ten years.

3. Why do they do it? The most plausible, and quite human, explanation is that they have sold their country to the United States. They could easily have made a billion dollars apiece on the deal, all salted away in Switzerland or some other safe place. If so I only hope the Russian people don't let them get away with it. If not, I still don't trust them one inch—I mean Messrs. K. and B., not the Russian people.

On the domestic side—I am all out for Kefauver.

Margaret A. Fellows.

Opinion

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Today's No. 1 job: to get the government out of the production and distribution of opinion.

Reuben W. Borough.

Jackson defense

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Thanks to GUARDIAN readers responding to the ad "Put Yourself In This Man's Place" (GUARDIAN, April 2).

One reader wrote, enclosing $5: "It is the best ad I've ever seen; wish I could give more." The James E. Jackson Defense Committee is deeply appreciative of this support to the fight for civil liberties in the new Smith Act trial in New York.

Readers may also like to know that Jackson is receiving support from Negroes in the deep South. Some are sending as much as $100. They are aware of the enormous cost of the trial which may last as long as 20 weeks.

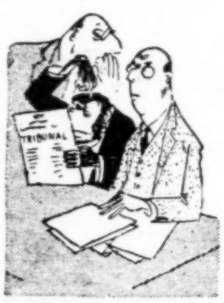
James W. Ford, secy.

2 books wanted

CHICAGO, ILL.

Any GUARDIAN reader who wishes to part with the book **Cry Korea** for a good cause may send it to me where it will be put to good use. Also copy of Belfrage's **Abide With Me.**

Dr. Ralph R. Sackley
6214 North Winthrop Av.
Chicago 40, Ill.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"I'm not for a moment questioning his competence, but are we absolutely sure he was properly appointed by the Minister?"

Art exhibit in S.F.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

We hope we may use this column to announce a graphic arts exhibit on the theme of American-Soviet friendship, "Let Us Build the Future Together," sponsored by the American Russian Institute of San Francisco. Invitations to participate have been extended to artists in the U.S. and the Soviet Union to submit original drawings, lithographs, water colors, engravings on wood or linoleum, posters, prints and etchings.

Following the opening exhibit in San Francisco in the fall, the works will be sent to key American cities, the Soviet Union, and then to Asia, Africa and Europe. Although the closing date for the exhibit is Aug. 31, artists who have already completed work on the theme are urged to send their entries at once so that they may be shown at the 25th Anniversary Celebration of the Institute on May 18. For invitations and entry blanks write to the **ARI**, 90 McAllister St., San Francisco, or call UN 1-3813.

American Russian Institute
Holland Roberts, President

Come to Minnesota!

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

We would have liked to send each GUARDIAN reader a personal invitation to attend the Spring Conference of the Minnesota Progressive Party in Minneapolis May 27. Unfortunately, we have neither the people nor the money to do so.

We do wish, however, to extend an invitation to all progressives, concerned with problems which face us, and able to get to the Twin Cities at the time of the meeting, to make tracks for the upper midwest.

You certainly will be welcome; we are prepared to offer you housing either in homes or low cost hotels, and we certainly value your opinions and participation.

We will welcome comments and letters from GUARDIAN readers who are unable to come. We especially want letters commenting on the farm situation, and offering practical ideas on how progressives can face the issues. We also invite letters dealing specifically with what you are doing in your own area.

Write to C. Lyons, Secretary, 708½ Lowry Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.

Mike Baker.

One Brazilian foot

BRONX, N. Y.

Here is one for your how dumb can you get: Joao Goulart, V.P. of Brazil said (N.Y. **Times** 4/26-/56): "There is no room for communism in Brazil. To fight them effectively we have to give more to the people than the communists promise . . . raise the standards of living."

If he tries to transcend communism, then capitalism withers away. The inconsistencies are such that they are damned if they do and damned if they don't. They are captives whichever way they turn. I think this time he put his foot in it.

Dill Emma.

WALTER-McCARRAN ACT SUPERVISORY PAROLE

Police state for foreign born

IN 1798 Thomas Jefferson wrote that he was alarmed for American democracy because there was a law on the books authorizing the President to deport any alien he might suspect of "treasonable or secret machinations against the government."

French and Irish families, then thought to have brought revolution from the old country, lived under the axe, but the country was so indignant at Congressional counter-revolution that not a single alien was deported under the law. After Jefferson's election the law became a dead letter and since it bore a time limit, was allowed to expire.

In 1950 it was rehabilitated. The 81st Congress in that year passed the Internal Security Act, admittedly modeling its provisions for aliens on the Alien Enemy Act of 1798.

NEW LAW TOUGHER: There was a difference. The 1798 Act authorized internment and other harassment of aliens in time of war or threatened war. The 1950 Act is a peacetime, permanent blight and under it thousands of persons, charged with no crime whatever, are subject to sudden arrest, exile or a lifetime on parole.

The exile and the broken home are familiar products of the Internal Security Act. But what happens to the person guilty of nothing but being born outside the U.S., who is ordered deported but whose country of origin will not accept him back? There are many such who can neither go nor stay. They face a future bleaker than that of any criminal out of prison. The criminal, once he's served his time, endures parole for a limited number of years. The alien, proscribed by the Attorney General, is sentenced to perpetual parole.

Frank Borich is typical of the people on parole. He came to the U.S. from his native Croatia in 1913 when he was 15 years old and went to work in the coal mines of Western Pennsylvania. He left the mines in the late 20's to organize miners. In 1931, as head of the Natl. Miners' Union, he led the biggest, toughest strikes the mines had yet seen. Kentucky mine operators, using a dummy organization, posted a $1,000 reward for Borich "dead or alive." The union had set April 1, 1932, as the deadline for a strike in the Pittsburgh area. On March 31 Borich was at work in the union office in Pittsburgh when the Dept. of Immigration men moved in. They arrested him and set the wheels in motion for his deportation.

ORDER DROPPED: The charge then was that the Natl. Miners Union was affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League which was affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions which, the government wrongly contended, was affiliated to the Communist International. That made Borich a member of a proscribed organization under the 1918 immigration law.

Borich fought his appeals through boards and courts. Liberals rallied to his case. At one tight moment, his wife, U.S.-born, brought their baby twins down to the Immigration Dept. office, told the officials:

"If you deport him, I'll leave these with you."

His appeal was before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1933 when the Department areed to withdraw the deportation order if Borich would drop the legal battle. Borich agreed and went back to his union. He organized there and later helped found the Natl. Council of Americans of Croatian Descent. The Council plunged into the war effort, organizing blood banks and civilian defense.

THE 2 A.M. ARREST: In 1949 Frank Borich was out of the mines, blacklisted by the operators and on the outs with John L. Lewis, an antagonism dating back to the rank-and-file movements against Lewis' iron-fisted rule. But he was still exec. secy. of the Croatian Council. In that year the Immigration Dept. renewed its offensive against Borich, charging him with advocating the forcible overthrow of the U.S. government. He was held briefly, then released on $5,000 bail.

At 2 a.m. one night in October, 1950, shortly after the Internal Security Act was passed, Borich was routed out of bed. It was in a home he had newly made for his family in New York. Immigration officials took him to Ellis Island, held him for a month before letting him go. A few months later he was arrested again on grounds that his bail was unacceptable since it had been posted by the Civil Rights Congress. In 1952, the last legal steps exhausted by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Frank Borich was ordered deported to Yugoslavia, a country that was not in existence when he came to the U.S.

He was back at Ellis Island again and for four months he tried to find another country that would accept him. (The law requires the alien to make that effort or face a ten-year prison sentence.) When Yugoslavia indicated it could not take him because it would not be a party to the breaking up of homes and families, and when no visa was forthcoming from any other country, Frank Borich was released from Ellis Island—with a lifetime sentence to "supervisory parole."

THE CONDITIONS: At first he was required to report every Friday to Ellis Island. It meant that he could never hope to hold down a steady job, since no employer was willing to put up with a half-holiday every week. Others whom he met on that dreary weekly ferry ride or at the ACPFB offices, had warned him that he must be reconciled to a lifetime of casual jobs. They told how Immigration officials might at any time visit him at the shop or interview his employer. Few could hold jobs long under such circumstances.

Some parolees must submit to medical and psychiatric tests. Each must weekly assure the department that he has not attended meetings of any organization on the Attorney General's list, that he has not so much as talked with officials of such organizations. The questioning for the most part is routine and up to now no one has yet been prosecuted for violating such parole provisions, but the axe is always ready and no one knows when a conversation with a proscribed person may lead to a year's imprisonment, $1,000 fine or both.

Frank Borich is lucky. He is one of the few parolees who can still travel as he pleases within the country. Most in the N.Y. area must stay within 30 miles of Times Square. Thanks to legal battles by the ACPFB the weekly visit is now a monthly one. Ellis Island is closed. One Friday afternoon every month Borich must report to headquarters on Columbus Av.

FIGHT GOES ON: That limitation, with the stigma it carries, still rules out steady work. Borich is 57 now. His wife, 48, is ill but she, too, must work in a machine shop because Borich cannot earn enough to support the household.

The prospect for both, a lifetime under surveillance, waiting for a blow that might fall at any moment, would be desperate if it were not for a fight now under way by the ACPFB.

On August 6, 1953, the ACPFB went into N.Y. Federal Dist. Court suing to enjoin the Justice Dept. from imposing most of the parole conditions on Communist Party leaders Alexander Bittelman, Betty Gannett and Claudia Jones. In June, 1954, 14 more cases were added to the legal test. It was after the District Court granted a temporary injunction that monthly, instead of weekly, reports were instituted.

A three-man court—Appeals Court Justice Medina, District Court Judges McGohey and Weinfeld—in October, 1954, ruled the suit premature since no one had yet been prosecuted for violating parole and that in any case no constitutional issue was involved. The **ACPFB** took the case to the Supreme Court which last October ruled that there was a constitutional case and ordered the three-man court to grant a hearing on the merits of the case. That hearing is set for June.

THE STAKES: If the decision is adverse the ACPFB will take it on up to the Supreme Court which at last may rule on the life-time parole now meted out to thousands of innocent men and women caught in the witch-hunt.

At stake in that fight, for which the ACPFB is seeking to enlist the widest support, are not only the lives of these non-citizens but a battle against the whole spirit of the Alien and Sedition Acts, newly revived. Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D-La.) voiced that spirit when in a 1954 hearing he told Immigration officials:

"I thought this new act (Internal Security) would give you full power to make conditions so distasteful they would not want to live in the United States."

NEGRO PRESS LOOSES A BLAST

Government stops hounding Lee Lorch, fired 3 times for war on jimcrow

ON APRIL 13 the government dropped its contempt of Congress charges against Dr. Lee Lorch in what the Baltimore **Afro-American** called "an open confession by the Dept. of Justice that the indictment . . . should not have been returned in the first place."

Dr. Lorch's fight against jimcrow in housing and schooling had already cost him his teaching jobs at New York's City College and Penn. State College. September, 1954, he was teaching at predominantly Negro Fisk University in Tennessee. To test the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling he tried to enroll his 11-year old daughter Susan at a colored school. The House Committee on Un-American Activities moved in quickly, subpenaed him and moved to cite him for contempt when he declined to answer some of their questions on grounds of the First Amendment or because he had not received sufficient notice to adequately prepare for the questioning. Dr. Lorch has repeatedly denied that he is a Communist.

INDICT UN-AMS: After his appearance before the committee Fisk's 34-member board of trustees voted to dismiss him. Six Negro board members dissented. When Fisk Pres. Charles S. Johnson defended the dismissal, the Chicago **Defender** called it "pharisaical piety." Dr. Johnson is Negro.

The **Afro** said it was "more than a coincidence" that Dr. Lorch was not called by the Committee until he tested the desegregation ruling. Its editorial called it "a disgraceful story of the naked abuse of subpena power by the House Un-American Activities Committee" and said it was "happy for Dr. Lorch and his family that he has been vindicated." The paper added that

". . . the time has come to call a halt to the growing tendency of Congressional committees and other governmental agencies to harass and smear individuals and organizations . . . [the committee] stands indicted by the outcome of this shocking case."

The **Defender** went further: "Now that the government says it has no case against Lee Lorch, an indictment ought to be handed down upon the House Un-American Activities Committee for its Nazi-like tactics against innocent citizens solely because they believe in the principles of freedom and democracy."

And receive what?

GUATEMALA CITY—(AP)—President Carlos Castillo Armas has announced a 5-year plan of economic development for Guatemala in which the United States will pay $53,800,000 of the cost.

—Chicago **Daily News**, 3/2

WHY WAR MUST NOT COME

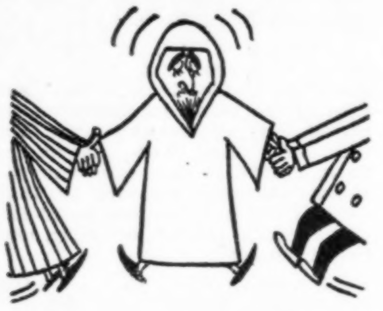
The Middle East's destiny

By Mordecai Avi-Shaul

TEL AVIV

A FEW YEARS from now we shall not be able to remember—and scarcely care to inquire—why early in 1956 the danger of war between Egypt and Israel (or between the Arab states and Israel, supposedly with some participation of one or two of the great powers) seemed imminent. But the fact remains that some warlike groups (here and overseas) were so sure of such a possibility that they even feel disappointment over the turn for the better in the course of events.

Anybody who predicted in March or early April that there would be no war, would have been called a lunatic—despite faintly peacable (but no peaceful) announcements from either side of the boundary. The atmosphere seemed ripe for explosion and literally anything seemed to serve as an incitement to war.



Franc-Tireur, Paris

The situation "very nearly crossed the precarious border which lies between armistice and the resumption of war," as one influential paper put it.

THE WAR DRUMS: War prophecies in overseas papers, busy kindling the fire and fomenting mutual feelings of vengeance, increased the tension. "The Mideast could explode at any moment;" "Israel might react by launching a 'preventative' war;" "Nasser is waiting for the opportunity." Such inciting stories filled the press. Men-of-war, marines and parachutists of the Western powers were ready in the neighborhood to interfere under the pretext of "aiding any victim of an unprovoked attack," to take possession of strategic positions lost after World War II. Even Churchill found it opportune to declare:

"I think we can be perfectly sure the U. S. as well as Britain will both intervene to prevent aggression by one side or the other."

Israeli-Egyptian conflict came to its climax between April 5 and 12. Troops of both sides fired at each other across the Gaza strip border line. Over 50 Egyptian civilians were killed, more than 100 wounded. Four Israeli soldiers and two civilian were wounded.

THE UN MISSION: Arab suicide squads entered Israeli territory (with "a mission of revenge") to blow up bridges, mine roads, sabotage water pipelines, shoot at traffic and murder Israelis. They killed three pupils of an agricultural school. From April 1 to 19, Israel suffered 18 killed and 64 wounded. The UN Security Council hastily sent Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold to the Middle East. The conflict did not lead to open war.

Nobody minimizes the importance of Hammarskjold's peace mission and his role in relieving the tension. Due credit must be given to him for the implementation, on April 18, of the Israeli-Egyptian cease-fire order.

But Hammarskjold is not a wizard who, simply by his good intentions and clever diplomacy, could effect the impossible. He derives his success from the deep yearning for peace of the peoples concerned. Realistically, both sides—Egypt and Israel—could have gained nothing by a war but the loss of life of innumerable innocent people: Egypt by utter defeat, Israel by immense destruction of towns and agricultural settlements. Nothing could be more foolish and criminal than a war between the Arab states and Israel.

FULL REALIZATION: Moreover, what were the political prospects of a victory? "No matter how 'decisive' our victory, the tens of millions in the Arab world will only hate us the more for it and look forward to their revenge, forcing us to get set for another 'preventative war,' then a third one and then another," warned the Ihud Assn. last January. Ihud stands for Arab-Israel friendship. It is a fact that great masses in Israel, as well as important sections of organized labor and the middle classes, vigorously oppose the idea of a "preventative" war. So does the influential peace movement.

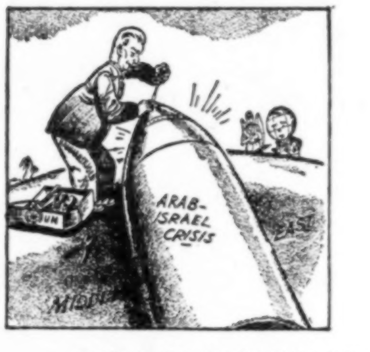
The great powers also shrank back from the risk when they faced the possible consequences of an open war. Nobody could foretell how it might affect their position in the Middle East. Instead of gaining ground through intervention they might have endangered even their present access to their oil possessions. The Egyptians and the Jews opposed an armed intervention in unmistakable terms.

The Soviet Union also had a word to say. In its recent declaration about the situation in the Middle East the Soviet government announced its readiness to support the UN efforts to achieve an Arab-Jewish settlement acceptable to all parties," but rejected foreign military intervention which it considered unlawful.

THE CZECH ARMS: It is not surprising that the Czech arms deal with Egypt caused excitement in Israel; nobody, in a state of war with his neighbor, can be pleased when his adversary is arming. In war, "the stronger you are, the weaker am I" is a simple maxim. And this is the essence of every arms race. At the same time it is only fair to state that the Western powers long ago started the arms race in all Mideast countries and are continuing it to this very day. They give arms, they say, only to bar "Communist expansion." But the U. S. State Dept. showed unparalleled hypocrisy when, instead of replying "yes" or "no," it declared it would "not oppose" others selling arms to Israel—winking one eye to Nasser, the other to Ben Gurion, and betraying both.

Though some politicians still maintain that "the danger of war is not yet over," nevertheless the fact is that the chances of a peace settlement have never been so opportune as they are at present.

TIME FOR MEETING: The Prime Minister of Israel, with all his intransigency, in his recent statement in the Knesset April 22, admitted that "opportunities have recently arisen for reducing the tension which never previously existed." He has repeatedly declared his willingness to meet the Arab leaders; and if President Eisenhower found his way to Geneva, Ben-Gurion surely can meet the other side half way, with or without the aid of a mediator. Reasonable members of the government, some of them representatives of the left and open-minded peace partisans, should also be able to exert a beneficial influence on the coming events.



Thiele in Los Angeles Mirror-News

"Trying to de-activate a time bomb."

Successful negotiations would require that Israel would cease to feel herself a part of Europe (or America). Her integration into Asia, more specifically into the Middle East, would be necessary.

Such integration—far from implying any cultural degradation—would mean the fulfilling of her chosen way. Jewish and Arab cultural and social development would complement each other. Such integration would naturally call for the restoring of all civil and human rights of the Arab minority in Israel, the eradication of all discrimination.

THE ARAB REFUGEES: Simultaneously successful peace negotiations would require recognition of the existence of Israel, her full right to national, cultural and social development. This is in the interests of her neighbors.

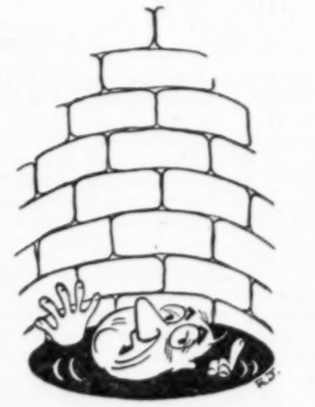
Israel would have to participate in solving the tragic problem of the Arab refugees who have lost their homes and suffered terrible privations for eight years. The form and the scope of Israel's participation would remain a matter of the peace negotiations.

The Arab states would also have to put an end to infiltration—which is largely a direct consequence of the anomalous state of the refugees—and to sabotage and all other hostile acts against Jewish life and property.

Arabs and Jews are destined to live together. Coexistence would mean a happy future for the Middle East with its immense natural riches. Trade and technological cooperation would promote social progress.

As the Ihud Assn. declaration said: "There is no way out of the involved problems of our relations with our Arab neighbors than statesmanlike initiative, accompanied by genuine willingness to compromise and work for mutual concessions."

Springle



Ding, dong dell—
Foster's in the well.
Who put him in?
That's where he's always been.
Who'll pull him out?
Why?

Fritchman will speak near Boston May 20

THE First Parish Universalist Church of Saugus, Mass., announced last week that the Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, will preach there on Sun., May 20, at 10:45 a.m.

Rev. Fritchman, widely-known on the West Coast for his vigorous activities in behalf of peace and civil liberties, is known to many in Boston from the years he edited the **Christian Register** there. His appearance in Saugus, which is 20 minutes north of Boston, is expected to draw a large audience from the city.

His sermon topic will be "The Enduring Graces—A Homily for Militant Liberals."

I. F. Stone in Israel

Following are excerpts from an article on Israel by I. F. Stone, written for his Weekly (4/30) after he left Israel en route to Moscow:

I WANT TO SET DOWN my final impressions in Israel and the considerations which I believe must be kept in mind by the world Jewish community if progress is to be made toward peace. . . . I want to set down some observations which many may find unpalatable, as most people always find the truth unpalatable.

The 1948 war between us and the Arabs was tragic in two respects. It was tragic because it was a struggle of right against right. This is the essence of tragedy. . . . The Jews had to fight for their lives in 1948 against Arab resistance to the 1947 UN decision partitioning Palestine. . . . But the Arabs had a right to fight, too. From their point of view, their Palestinian homeland was endangered by an alien invasion. They saw themselves swamped and reduced to subordinate status. . . .

THE 1948 WAR was [also] a tragedy for all of us who belong to the Jewish people that in the struggle to make a new home for our own refugees, we ended by making refugees of other people. [And] to end Jewish homelessness, we made another group of people homeless in a land dear to both of us. . . . These refugees are a moral millstone around our necks as a people. We must find a way to make new homes for them. . . . Israel may live; it cannot live normally without Arab friendship; it cannot survive in the long run without Arab good-will. The road to peace lies through the refugee camps. So does the road to Asia. Israel cannot live as a Western outpost. . . . It can live only as part of the new Asian-African community. . . .

War is no solution for Israel. I believe Israel can win a new war now. . . . Nasser's regime will not survive a new war and he, who has been described as a bold statesman but a cautious soldier, knows it. . . . But what good will a military victory do? [It] will make more Arab refugees, increase Arab hatred, deepen Arab national humiliation, sow the seeds for a third round—and this in turn for a fourth. . . . In the long run Israel cannot be secure without Arab friendship. . . . I spoke about this with a very wise Arab in Nazareth and I asked him whether there could be peace between our peoples after all that had happened. "If there can be peace between Israel and Germany after all the terrible things that Germany did," was his reply, "there can be peace between the Jews and the Arabs."

WE DARE NOT treat the Arab as human dirt swept out of the land without dirtying ourselves. [And] if we do not treat the Arab as an equal we will not treat the Arabic Jew as an equal. [But] to treat him with dignity, respect and pity, to extend the hand of friendship and help, would be to rise to all that is best in our past. . . .

I see in the striving for peace and brotherly relations with the Arabs a challenge and an opportunity worthy of Isaiah's people, capable of creating a new and greater generation of Jewry.

THAT SENATE HEARING

Wexley notes new holes in Gold-Greenglass tales

WHENEVER the government witnesses against Julius and Ethel Rosenberg or against Morton Sobell have been allowed to talk they have dug fresh holes in their previous testimony and whittled away at the underpinnings of the entire case.

John Wexley explored many of those holes in his book **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** (Cameron & Kahn, 1955). After the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee recently brought the key government witnesses, Harry Gold and David Greenglass, out of the silence of Lewisburg Penitentiary for a three-hour hearing, the GUARDIAN talked with author Wexley to see what new gaps Gold and Greenglass had opened up in their own testimony.

It was still too early to match all aspects of the twisted Gold-Greenglass story with earlier tellings of it, but on first reading of the hearing transcript Wexley noted that Gold had this time undermined one of the few items of documentary, corroborative evidence offered by the government.

THAT HOTEL ROOM: In the Rosenberg trial Gold told how he had gone to Santa Fe to pick up data for the spy ring from Klaus Fuchs, then to Albuquerque, to gather more from David Greenglass. He testified (Court record pp. 798-848) that he arrived at Albuquerque in the evening of June 2, 1945, went to the Greenglass' home, learned they were out, found "a room in the hallway of a rooming house" in downtown Albuquerque and spent the night there.

The next morning, according to his court testimony, he registered at the Hotel Hilton under his own name. He had to see the Greenglasses early that morning, catch a train shortly after noon that day in order to make the rendezvous he testified he did make in New York with his alleged Russian master-spy, Yakovlev.

Wexley asked: Why did Gold bother to register in a hotel where he could not have planned to stay? Why did this "spy" who boasts of his ingenuity, register in his own name? (A photostat of the hotel registration was produced as evidence. The defense did not insist on seeing the original.) His registering could have served no purpose except as documentation in a story otherwise almost bare of it.

STORY OF A MAP: When he appeared before the subcommittee last month, Gold was asked to tell his story again "in detail." He said he welcomed the opportunity, complaining that in court he felt inhibited: "You can't elaborate. You must be precise."

He told the Santa Fe-Albuquerque episode again. He went over his stay in the rooming house, his visits to Greenglass, confirmed that he traveled by train all the way from Albuquerque, but this time completely omitted any mention of the Hilton Hotel and the registration which had been the only item to substantiate his story.

The meeting with Fuchs also developed variations since Gold testified in court.

HARRY GOLD
As he appeared at the Eastland Committee hearing

He then said that in New York, along with his spy-ring introductions, he had been given a map of Santa Fe, a city completely unfamiliar to him, and that on the map was marked the rendezvous point where he was to meet Fuchs: the Castillo St. bridge.

THE HOOVER VERSION: In another version of the story by J. Edgar Hoover, published in the **Readers Digest** as "from the secret files of the FBI," Gold is said to have obtained the map at a museum in Santa Fe. (He found his away about town from the map so as to avoid asking strangers and so risk leaving traces behind him.)

Before the subcommittee Gold used the FBI edition of his story but gave his rendezvous point as the Alameda St. Bridge instead of the one on Castillo St. Wexley pointed out that a man who knew a town very well might mistake one bridge for another. But for Gold, the careful spy, who says he knew nothing of Santa Fe beyond his crucial rendezvous there, such a slip is very curious.

Greenglass, whose testimony helped send his sister Ethel Rosenberg to the electric chair, edited his original testimony to deepen the picture of Julius Rosenberg as a conspirator.

GREENGLASS' STORY: In court Greenglass had said that Julius Rosenberg came to him in February, 1950, after Fuchs was arrested, and warned Greenglass to consider leaving the country. Before the Senate committee Greenglass said Rosenberg came to him in October, 1949, four months before Fuchs was arrested, told Greenglass that he knew—in some secret fashion—that Scotland Yard was talking to Fuchs and then advised Greenglass to skip.

The close prison association of Gold and Greenglass had worked a certain change in the young auto mechanic who had testified in court in almost inarticulate phrases. Greenglass seemed to have taken on the high-blown mannerisms of Gold. Committee members incredulously asked him to repeat when he called himself a "tyro" in the spy business, testified of matters "within my ken" and spoke of Rosenberg as "my mentor." He also acquired Gold's illusions of grandeur. Greenglass, who flunked the only science courses he ever took at high school, solemnly testified that Julius Rosenberg once reprimanded him because he had not joined the Federation of Atomic Scientists.

REWARD OR GESTURE? Gold and Greenglass have both been returned to Lewisburg where they cannot in public trip over their words. Their performance, which had apparently been meant to allay mounting doubts about the government's case, seemed to have failed in that objective. But columnist Leonard Lyons in the N.Y. **Post** (5/7) reported that Judge McGranery, who sentenced Gold to 30 years imprisonment, will ask that his sentence be commuted to time already served. That could be a reward or it could be a gesture. Many of those who followed the case from the beginning think it unlikely that the government would risk leaving its prize witnesses free to talk.

Last week the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (5/4) in its series based on Robert J. Donovan's book **Eisenhower—the Inside Story**, told again of the world-wide protest that flooded the President's mail clamoring for clemency. Recalling the eve of the execution, Donovan wrote:

"It had been a terrible 48 hours for him, the President told the Cabinet on the morning of June 19. He never remembered a time in his life when he felt more in need of help from some one much more powerful than he."

BUT THEY DIED: The President had said he would reopen the case if any of his cabinet felt he should. None did. The President said repeatedly he had "made a careful examination" of the case. The Rosenbergs went to their death. Now the case's flaws have become more obvious to any examination. The protest has found other voices, such as Earl Bertrand Russell's in England. The Rosenberg sentence is past revision, but Morton Sobell is still alive and in Alcatraz.

Last week lawyers were preparing to move for a new trial for Sobell with fresh evidence of his innocence.

Sobell rally May 15

MRS. ROSE SOBELL, mother of Morton Sobell, returned from Europe last week and will speak at the rally for her son's freedom scheduled for Tuesday evening, May 15, at New York's Carnegie Hall. Mrs. Sobell toured England, France and Italy to win support for her son. Earl Bertrand Russell in England and Pablo Picasso in France were among those who answered her appeal.

The rally, which will present new evidence to establish Sobell's innocence, will also hear Judge Patrick H. O'Brien, former Michigan attorney general, law professor Stephen Love and John Wexley, author of **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.**

BRITAIN AND RUSSIA FORGE AHEAD

Development of atomic power in U. S. blocked by monopoly, Sen. Gore Says

By Reuben W. Borough
Special to the GUARDIAN

LOS ANGELES

COMPLETE MONOPOLY of the private power companies over atomic power for peacetime uses is killing off any such development, preventing U. S. world leadership in this field and striking a blow at the nation's economy and its dominant position in the world market.

This indictment of American corporate greed came from Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.), member of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. It came in the "keynote" address at the 13th annual convention of the American Public Power Assn. in Los Angeles last month.

Before 500 delegates from the great public power projects of the U. S., Gore assailed the "dog-in-the-manger" conduct of the power trust which will not itself develop atomic power nor permit the government to do it. He announced that he is presenting to Congress a "crash program" in the form of a bill which will direct the Atomic Energy Commission to construct and operate six atomic power reactors of varying types in six different areas of the nation.

TIME FOR ACTION: "We must build a fire," he declared, "not only under the Republican Administration but under the Democratic Congress as well. The time is here for government action."

According to Gore, the power trust's control over atomic energy development was achieved through the Atomic Energy Act of 1954. "This bill," he said, "prohibited the government from constructing [atomic] reactors to demonstrate the practicability of atomic electricity in commercial quantities. Instead, exclusive reliance was placed on such construction by private companies under a system of licenses, to be issued and administered by the Atomic Energy Commission."

The sole result to date of this legislation, he said, has been the sale by the Commission of $36 worth of electricity generated from a West Milton, N. Y., "prototype reactor" designed for use in submarines. Not one license has been granted.

The licensing program ties the hands of the government. It can not experiment and private companies will not. Meanwhile both Russia and England forge ahead, he said.

NELSON AFTERMATH

Mass. court drops 4 sedition cases

THE STATE of Massachusetts last week bowed to the Supreme Court decision in the Steve Nelson case nullifying state sedition laws. The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court ordered the dismissal of indictments against four persons who had been accused of violating a state anti-Communist law.

The four are Otis Archer Hood, a CP official, Mrs. Margaret Gilbert, Harry E. Winner and Prof. Dirk Struik of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

IN THE WAKE OF B & K

There's a great hangover in Britain's Labour Party

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

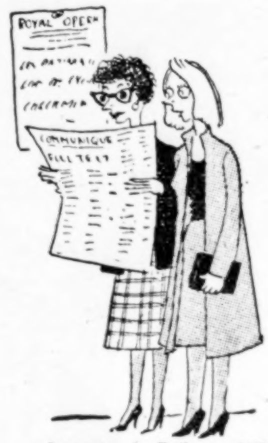
THE FOUR-PART formula of Cheesecake, Labour Party, Mum, and periodic thrusts through diplomatic doubletalk to look at the simple facts of our changing world, has brought London's **Daily Mirror** the world's highest newspaper sale. When the **Mirror** called B & K Britain's most important visitors in 50 years, and asked when the Mum of Mums (Queen Elizabeth) would pay a return visit to Moscow, it hit the nail bang on the head.

The **Mirror** was paying tribute not to B & K's blue eyes but to the power of the first socialist state in the changing world to which the West must adjust its thinking. At the striped-pants end of Fleet St. the **Sunday Times** was underlining the "significant changes in international diplomacy" which the visit was "already precipitating" before B & K even got home: in NATO, from military to politico-economic emphasis; in the Middle East, to "ensuring peace with Soviet co-operation"; in disarmament, to "direct negotiations between the two super-powers, Russia and the U.S."

A LARGE HANGOVER: In Paris, NATO's Field Marshal Lord Montgomery was desperately trying to keep the inevitable-war doctrine in the headlines by a call to "prepare for maintaining civilian morale in nuclear war." But the people were not there. They were behind Prime Minister Eden in his "warm reciprocation" of B & K's friendly wishes from their home-bound ship that "our friendship and work together will develop and further the common cause of peace and good relations throughout the world."

The big hangover in Britain is from the House of Commons dinner given to B & K by the Labour Party Executive. No such handy weapon has been given to the Tories in years as their political foes' provocation of the Russian guests. Beaverbrook's **Express** is making hay with a "blow-by-blow, comma-by-comma" serialization of "every word, every scowl, every snarl" at the dinner which caused B & K to accuse some Labour leaders of "trying to spoil our visit."

THEIR RESPONSIBILITY: Yet if it has been shown that Labour leaders—as Richard Crossman of the party Executive comments—have "no clear idea how to cope with the completely new world situation" Britain faces, neither has the government. The Labour leaders' irresponsibility, when they had the opportunity to discuss with the Soviet leaders positive proposals for negotiating disarmament and peaceful co-existence, merely underlines their responsibility before the party and nation.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Well, if 'cultural exchanges' means that we get the Russian Ballet and they get the British Council, I'd say Sir Anthony's driven a pretty shrewd bargain!"

Crossman reflects the alarm throughout the party at its leaders' apparent bankruptcy and the implications not only electorally but for Britain's future. Leading Labourites post-mortemming after B & K's departure gave vent to their anger at meetings around the country. Former War Minister Emanuel Shinwell, lashing out at the attempt to pass off as a joke Labourite George Brown's heckling of Khrushchev at the dinner "when the fate of the world is at stake", rightly said this did "not represent the opinion of vast numbers of the rank and file."

LET'S GROW UP: Aneurin Bevan said the Labour movement was "very sick indeed—we will have to wake up." Barbara Castle of the party Executive, calling the dinner "tragic" from Labour's viewpoint, said: "I wish you could have seen the contempt of our Russian guests for this undergraduate level of bear-baiting . . . The time has come to grow up and stop looking at the world in terms of this particular demonology." Brown himself was so heckled by dockers at Liverpool that he could hardly be heard.

The party's extreme right wing, reflected in its journal **Fact,** continued to insist that Khrushchev's refusal to discuss the "imprisoned Social Democrats" made it "crystal clear that there can be no question of any sort of political co-operation between Social Democratic and Communist parties." But what is clear to most Labourites, from rank and file to key MP's, is that if co-operation is not yet possible the reasons lie elsewhere. Their fury is not directed at Khrushchev, whose speech at the dinner was described to me by two Executive members as "first-class."

WHAT THEY FEEL: They fully understand B & K's "contempt" for hosts who—ignoring the most elementary diplomatic proprieties—tried to hold the Soviet government responsible for the alleged jailing of citizens of other countries recognized by Britain and the UN. They are appalled by the arrogance of Labour officials acting as self-appointed moral governesses toward the heads of one of the great world powers, developed and stabilized out of history's greatest popular revolution.

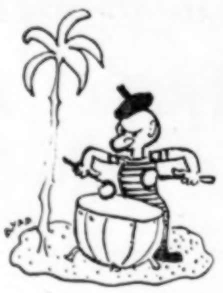
They are sickened to see these leaders acting as mouthpieces for East European emigrès whose only desire is to sabotage peace. Sickened because they know that Labour's whole program for the British people's welfare is a dream unless peace is assured; unless Britain's 1½ million men now locked in the armed forces and arms industries can be released for productive work; unless East-West trade barriers can be breached; and unless arms expenditure—now nearly 2/3 of the budget—can be drastically cut.

FLYWEIGHT LEADERS: So far the Labourites' fire has not been directed personally against leader Hugh Gaitskell, who tends toward the Right but is believed susceptible to such pressure as he is now feeling from below. Recent deaths and retirements have rid the party leadership of some of its hardest-shell right-wingers. The only potential new leaders of stature are further to the Left; but meanwhile Gaitskell is operating with a right-wing team that is flyweight by any standards.

It is conceded that Gaitskell did not introduce the "200 Social Democrats" at the B & K dinner in a provocative manner; but the fact that they were brought up at all, when everyone was at white heat after Brown's heckling, was an appalling blunder and Gaitskell seems to be conscious of it. He will have a chance to mend his fences with the party rank and file when he goes to Moscow with Alfred Robens, probably in August.

Robens, the party's foreign affairs man, achieved some stature recently when he challenged the government's Middle East policy, bringing Commons to a division on a major foreign-policy issue for the first time in years.

SHAKE-UP AHEAD? One positive result from the dinner may well be the defeat of Brown for the party treasurership, for which he is running against Bevan. Brown's biggest sponsor, Jack Cooper of the huge General & Municipal Workers Union, showed his disapproval of the heckling at the dinner, and may withdraw his support.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Calling George Brown: Some local chaps would like you for dinner."

On the Left of the party there is hope that the dinner "tragedy" may lead to a thorough shake-up in the leadership, now that (as one MP expressed it to me) the right-wingers have "shown their hand and at the same time put their foot in it." The pressure increases daily because Labourites overwhelmingly and ardently want to come to terms with the U.S.S.R. as the only alternative to bankruptcy. But the Gaitskell circle continue fearful of a Tory attack on "reds running away with the prudent leadership" of the Labour Party.

The party in general seems willing to give Gaitskell another chance; but they won't wait much longer for Labour to show plainly whether it stands with Dulles or the UN, with East European emigrès or British workers, for war or for peace.

San Francisco hears Lamont talk May 18

"PEACE Marches On," a review of the present world outlook, will be presented by Dr. Corliss Lamont at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Celebration of the American Russian Institute, 150 Golden Gate Av., San Francisco, on Fri., May 18, at 8 p.m.

Dr. Lamont, writer, world traveler and educator, has long been active in behalf of American-Soviet friendship and has written several books on the Soviet Union. He is also well-known for his leadership in the civil liberties field and has just published the authoritative **Freedom Is As Freedom Does.**

A cantata, **Song of Two Lands,** will dramatize the institute's work of promoting friendship and cultural relations with the Soviet Union. There will be a reception and refreshments.

Tickets are available at American Russian Institute, 90 McAllister St., San Francisco, at $1, tax included.

A DELAY OR A SETBACK?

6 cases before SACB are held up as result of Supreme Court ruling

JUSTICE DEPT. lawyers were quoted last week as "astounded" at the Supreme Court's 6-3 ruling that the Subversive Activities Control Board must take another look at its determination that the Communist Party is a foreign-controlled organization. The Washington **Post,** quoting Department officials, said "some declared it may prove to be the most important Communist victory in the courts of the past decade."

But Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, in Atlantic City for some politicking, told reporters that the decision was "more of a delay . . . than a set-back" and said: "Our drive against the Communist Party in this country will continue at full force."

TWO CHOICES: But the "full force" would be slowed up for a time as a result of the Court's order to the SACB to check into CP charges that three of the government's major witnesses were perjurers. Under the majority opinion, the Board was given two alternatives: (1) to conduct hearings in which the CP could back up its charge of perjury against informers Harvey Matusow, Manning Johnson and the late Paul Crouch, or (2) strike their testimony from the record.

"In either event," the Court ordered, "the Board must reconsider its original determination in the light of the record as freed from the challenge that now beclouds it."

The majority emphasized its mistrust of the professional informer by stating that "the purpose of this remand is to make certain the Board bases its findings upon untainted evidence."

6 CASES PUT OFF: First effect of the ruling was indefinite postponement of six cases pending before the Board—four of them charged with being "communist front" organizations and two charged with being "communist-infiltrated" unions. They are the Natl. Negro Labor Council of Detroit; the Washington State Pension Union; the California Labor School; the American Peace Crusade of New York; the United Electrical Workers Union and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union.

SACB chairman Thomas J. Herbert gave no indication when hearings in these cases might begin; some thought no action would be taken before a complete reconsideration of the CP case had been undertaken. In any event, it usually takes about a month before a Supreme Court order officially reaches the Board.

Action against the CP was originally called for by Brownell on Nov. 20, 1950; the Board handed down its order on April 20, 1953.

EASTLAND VICTIMS

7 contempt citings voted by Congress

SEVEN PERSONS who refused on principle to answer questions before the Eastland subcommittee on Internal Security were tagged last month for possible prosecution on charges of contempt of Congress. None of the seven invoked the Fifth Amendment, which protects against self-incrimination, but defied the committee on the grounds that the inquisition was an invasion of their privacy and served no legislative purpose.

The Senate as a whole cited for contempt Herman Liveright, a former employe of a New Orleans TV station, and Mrs. Mary Knowles, a librarian of Plymouth Meeting, Pa. Both declined to say whether they had ever been members of the Communist Party.

PRESS PROBE AFTERMATH: Contempt citations against five others were recommended to the Senate by the Judiciary Committee. One was Mrs. Pauline Feuer, a New Orleans educator who told the Eastland committee that it had no authority to inquire into her personal beliefs. The other four are New York newspaper men, three of them employes of the N. Y. **Times** which was a special target of the committee in what was generally regarded as an attack on the freedom of the press.

The victims were Seymour Peck of the **Times** Sunday magazine and Robert Shelton and Alden Whitman, **Times** copy editors. The fourth was William A. Price, reporter for the N. Y. **Daily News** who was fired by his paper the day he appeared before the committee. Price refused to answer any of the committee's questions; two of the **Times** men admitted that they had once been Communists but refused to name any of their associates in the party.

COMIN' FOR TO CARRY ME HOME

Montgomery: The Wheels

By Eva Grimes

(Third of a series.)

THE SINGLE FACTOR which has guaranteed Montgomery's successful 24-week bus boycott (other, of course, than the courage and unity of its 50,000 Negroes) has been the operation of the widely publicized car pool. Unity, courage, determination provided the will. The car pool is that will's concrete expression; it has provided the way.

Recently, spokesmen for the protest movement, when refused a franchise to operate their own bus service, said Negroes would ride bicycles before ever returning to the jimcrow City Bus Lines. Since then, the U. S. Supreme Court gave its opinion on intra-state bus travel; Montgomery's Mayor "Tacky" Gale announced that he don't care what the Court don't 'low, he's for jimcrow any old how. And poor shaken J. H. Bagley, manager of the City Bus Lines, fell victim to a serious heart attack. Through all this swirl of forces in opposition, the car pool operated by the Montgomery Improvement Assn. keeps rolling along.

THE STATION WAGONS: A plan under discussion some weeks ago among MIA's executive board members is now evidently being evolved. The plan would utilize major portions of funds collected across the nation to purchase station wagons. These would be presented to several of the city's leading Negro churches to use "as they see fit." They undoubtedly see fit to use such gifts as a practical means of further strengthening the car pool organization and operation. The steps include reducing the number of private cars in operation; regularizing and minimizing personnel; reducing wear and tear on private cars and guaranteeing maximum efficiency of schedules.

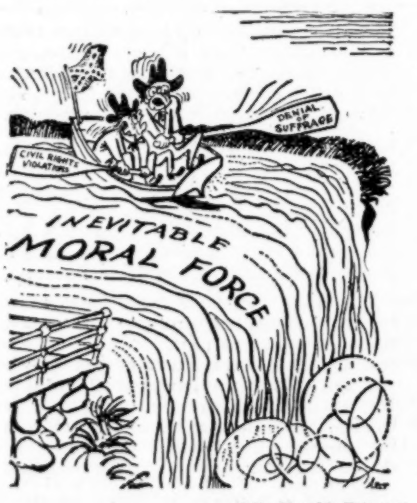
But the basic set-up of the car pool can not have changed very much in the short weeks since Rev. M. L. King Jr.'s trial. Then it was estimated that 32 dispatch stations and 40 pickup stations were directed from MIA's headquarters at the Citizens Club. A week after the trial, when the station wagons were still untalked of, the pool did its job with remarkable efficiency and enthusiasm.

THE EX-FISHERMAN: One hot afternoon in late March, a bright blue 1956 Buick driven by Matthew Kennedy carried a steady passenger around his route from about 3:30 to 6:30 p.m. The next morning, from 6:30 to 9:30, Mr. Kennedy carried the same passenger as he delivered groups of women to their jobs. These are peak transportation hours, when the pool does its heaviest work: shuttling the mass of Montgomery's domestic workers to and from their jobs in outlying white residential communities.

Kennedy, a tall, heavy man whose energy and spirit belonged to a man of 50, was actually over 70. He was proud to be one of the 90 Negro citizens of Montgomery indicted for activity in the bus protest movement. He had been retired for many years, he said, and was a pensioned veteran of World War I. "Just about all I've been doing for the last few years is go fishing," he said. "But when this thing come along I put **down** my fishing and I can't think of nothin I'd rather be doin than just this. I even sold my fishing cars last week. Don't look like I'm gonta get me much chance to fool with that til this thing is settled, and I'm sure gonta keep ridin folks around until it **do** get settled."

PATIENCE AND HUMOR: Kennedy's zestful driving methods matched his words. When he swooped into the parking lot at Monroe and McDonough Streets in downtown Montgomery (a central pickup station) one of the volunteer workers came up to him and wanted to know, with some severity, if he knew his radiator was steaming. "I think you need some water in that car, Hot Papa," the man told him. "The way you been driving that car around here it ain't gon last much longer." Mr. Kennedy cheerfully admitted that he **had** been going at quite a pace so, while the engine cooled off, passengers began to take their places in the Buick.

The delay, which lasted about 20 minutes, occurred at a time when there was real congestion in the station. It was an excellent time to observe the patience, discipline and good humor of dispatchers, drivers, attendants and riders. Every possible kind of vehicle had been pressed into service. There were spanking new passenger cars like Kennedy's Buick; older cars of all makes and vintage; station wagons; pickup trucks; ramshackle open trucks and two or three heavy duty farm trucks. As fast as cars came in, they were loaded with people and sent out again. The chief dispatcher for the station, a Reverend Cherry, had already grouped the passengers in order of their destinations, and he would call out: "All the folks in that Mobile Road crowd, over this way. Where's the people wants to go out on Wetumpka Highway? Over here, lady, this truck will be goin out Mount Meigs way." The Montgomery City Bus Lines could never have showed such solicitude nor assumed such responsibility for making sure that each passenger arrived as near her ultimate destination as was humanly possible.



N.Y. Herald Tribune

"This could be bigger than both of us!"

THE NAME "HOT PAPA": When Kennedy's mechanical problem was solved, he climbed in behind the wheel and all his passengers greeted him with real affection. As the Buick roared off down the street and the passengers talked with each other and Kennedy, it became increasingly apparent that no one in Montgomery referred to or addressed the venerable ex-fisherman with any other title than "Hot Papa". It seemed such an incongruous name for a man of his years, appearance and dignity. After the first load of people had all been delivered, the steady passenger **had** to ask:

"Mr. Kennedy, where on earth did you get that nickname?"

The question amused him so much he couldn't answer for some minutes. "Well, I tell you," he chuckled, "when I first come in here from Mississippi years ago after the first World War, I had me what you would call a real fine wardrobe. There wasn't a thing missing! An more than that I had me a couple of big fine diamond rings. Well, one day I was at some social or other and this woman come up and looked at me and she said, real loud: 'Why, **you** just a real hot papa!' Folks heard her and then **every** body started callin me that and been callin me Hot Papa ever since. I always **did** like to go decent, though, sure 'nough!"

OBEY THE RULES: The sun had begun to go down during the ride and now, Hot Papa said, we were going to ride out on his route in Normandale and Oak Park and start picking up the ladies on their way home from work. He explained, as he drove along, that all car pool drivers had been divided into teams. Each team had a specific area of the town to cover in order to guarantee maximum service to the people, and to avoid duplication of effort.

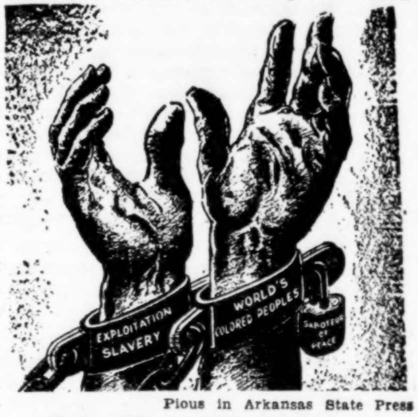
"Now I'm in charge of **my** team," he stated, "and we operate all up in through here. See there, there's one of my drivers now, coming back to town with a full load!" Without diminishing his speed, he tooted a cheery greeting to the station wagon bowling along in the opposite direction. His greeting was answered and in addition many hands were waved enthusiastically out of the windows as the other car streaked by.

"We got to be careful to obey all the rules and traffic regulations," he said. "They're tryin to get us anyhow, give us tickets an all like that, so we just have a real strict rule about obeyin **all** their laws so they won't have a thing on **us.** We don't pass the speed limit and we're careful when and how we pick up—specially out this way."

EXPANDING CITY: The Buick was rolling through a grove of tall trees looped and draped with misty Spanish moss, colored pale violet in the fading light. Here, as in all areas where most of the former bus passengers work, there are new settlements of homes. Montgomery is a city in the process of expansion and all areas outside the city proper are either newly built up with small, attractive, shrub-decorated "ranch-type" houses or land is being cleared for new homes. It is in homes of this type that most of the women who form the bulk of the protest movement work as domestics for $12 to $20 a week. The majority of them seem to earn an average of $16.

Hot Papa began to drive more cautiously. He would edge along a street until he came to a crossing; look in all directions, and if he even thought he saw a possible passenger, give a series of abrupt toots on his horn. He combed the area in this way until the big car was loaded to capacity. He continued to drive slowly and, as he passed women walking singly or in twos and threes down the tree-lined dusk-dim streets of this remote and all-white residential area, he would draw alongside them and say: "Somebody will be along soon to get y'all. We're gonta see to it that don't non of y'all ladies walk unless you just want to."

WHAT REALLY COUNTS: Soft smiles answered him and sweet voices floated out of the deepening twilight: "That's all right, Hot Papa. We know y'll are doin the best you can. We don't mind walkin. Long as we all together, that's what counts." Then hands would wave the car on until it passed altogether out of the area and was well on the way into town and sections where Negro people live in the greatest numbers.



Pious in Arkansas State Press

"Only with complete freedom and equality, can there be peace."

On that evening's pickup route and on the following morning, the trips were timed. Carrying six passengers from or to a central destination point and from or to various points far removed from one another, the average trip took scarcely more than half an hour. Beginning in the morning at 6:45 and going through until 9:30 Hot Papa's blue Buick made five complete trips and delivered 35 women to their jobs on time. As he said to a group, trying to gauge his schedule to suit their needs:

"You ladies just say where it is you want to go, then I'll know how to drive. We're just tryin to routinize our work that's all; I **know** everybody gonta cooperate, cause we got to get ourselves routinized. **This** thing liable to last **a** long time."

Oh, Mr. Eastland!

Thousands of revelling Oxford University students crowned Dorothy Dandridge, American Negro singer, as their Queen of May at dawn today after an all-night party.

— **Cincinnati Inquirer, May 1**

"DIVIDED, WE'RE STUCK"

50,000 Negroes hold fast in Montgomery; overflow mass rallies twice a week

MONTGOMERY'S 50,000 passive resisters against jimcrow buses entered their 25th week of protest with 12 or more churches buying station wagons. The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, 29-year-old vice president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., said last week that four churches had already received their cars. They will be used to carry church members "and friends" to and from work, he said. Dr. Martin Luther King, 27-year-old president of the association, said weeks ago he had heard talk about establishing a "free" transportation system, but Rev. Abernathy would not say whether this was it. He conceded that many of the autos in the car pool since the movement began last Dec. 5 need repairing.

Mayor Gayle and Police Commr. Sellers still threaten to jail passengers or drivers who violate local jimcrow laws despite the Supreme Court's April 23 ruling against discrimination on intrastate buses. A hearing is scheduled May 11 before a three-judge Federal Court on the constitutionality of state and city segregation laws.

SHAMEFUL SILENCE: Reports from Montgomery were that "some" Negroes were still riding. "But," said Art Carter in the Baltimore **Afro-American** (5/5), "the small percentage . . . has not seriously affected the success of the protest and does not now." He wrote that "a few [crippled, aged, etc.] ride with the understanding of their fellowmen." Others ride "in shameful silence, low in their seats in an apparent effort not to be seen by their neighbors and friends."

Overflow mass rallies are still held every Monday and Thursday with crowds beginning to gather at 4 p.m. for meetings scheduled to start at 7. Dr. King told one such meeting last week:

"When we win, it will be a victory for justice and democracy the world over. We're not trying to put the buses out of business; we're trying to put justice in business."

Mrs. Rosa Parks, whose arrest and fine for refusing to yield her seat to a white man sparked the demonstration, serves as chairman of the association's relief committee aiding resisters who have lost their jobs or suffered reprisals. Contributions have come in from 35 states and from Canada, Denmark, England, France, Japan, and Mexico.

The Rev. W. J. Powell, pastor of Old Ship AMEZ Church, seemed to express the sentiments of 4,000 at a recent meeting: "Brothers and sisters, we must remain as united as the fist if we're to attain our goal. Together, we stick; divided, we're stuck."

EDUCATORS URGE

Teachers' rights in N. Y. schools

TWENTY-SEVEN of the nation's top educators last week asked the New York City Board of Education and Board of Higher Education to "correct the injustices done to teachers deprived of due process as defined in the Slochower decision."

The Supreme Court recently ruled that Dr. Harry Slochower was unconstitutionally dismissed from Brooklyn College because he claimed protection of the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional Committee. The city corporation counsel is appealing that ruling and has made no effort to apply to other victimized teachers the Court's decision which expressly throws out the sections of the City Charter under which Dr. Slochower was dismissed.

MORALE IMPAIRED: The educators said in their letter, which was released by the Teachers Union:

"We feel that academic freedom must be strengthened, and infringements must be rectified if the present shortage of teachers, scientists and other trained personnel is to be alleviated. The intrusion of federal investigating committees into the schools and colleges and subsequent dismissals without regard to constitutional rights or tenure provisions not only impair academic morale but also tend to deter promising young people from entering the profession."

The signers are:

Professors Stringfellow Barr, Rutgers; Charles H. Behre Jr. and Dorothy Brewster, Columbia; Derk Bodde, Pennsylvania; Theodore Brameld and Henry Pratt Fairchild (emeritus), N.Y.U.; Anton J. Carlson, Chicago; John J. DeBoer, Illinois; L. P. Edwards, Fairfield, Conn.; I. M. Fauch, Iowa; Erwin R. Goodenough, Yale; Albert Guerard, W.E. Lamb and Frank W. Weymouth, Stanford; I. M. Kolthoff, Minnesota; Oliver S. Loud, Antioch; Howard L. Parsons, Tennessee; L. J. Pritchard, Kansas; Anatol Rapaport, Michigan; O.K. Rice, North Carolina; Arthur Roberts, Rochester; Leland Taylor, W. Va.; Theodore Rosebury, Washington; Dr. Randolph Smith, director, Little Red Schoolhouse and Dr. Lewi Tonks, Scotia, N.Y.

Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, former president of Amherst College, and Dr. Malcolm Sharp of the Chicago Law School, sent similar suggestions to both boards.

LECTURER TAKEN FROM TRAIN

Canada bars Dr. Lamont

DR. CORLISS LAMONT was barred from Canada Tues., May 8, when he sought to travel from Detroit to Toronto for two speaking engagement that evening. Canadian immigration officials removed him from the 9 a.m. train from Detroit when it reached the border at about 10 a.m. and directed him to take the next train back. No reasons were given for his deportation. He promptly engaged attorney Gowling MacTavish of Ottawa to take legal steps to force his admission.

Humanist, philosopher and author of many books, including the recent **Freedom Is As Freedom Does** (GUARDIAN April 23), Dr. Lamont left New York May 4 for a 3-week tour. He had spoken at the St. Louis Ethical Society May 6 and at Champaign, Ill., May 7 on "Humanism as a Way of Life." In Toronto he was to have made a TV appearance May 8 over CBLT-TV and was to have addressed the Toronto Humanists on "Humanism vs. the Traditional Religions." On May 9 he was scheduled to address the same group on "Humanism and Civil Liberties."

TWO OTHERS BARRED: His schedule then called for him to leave at 11:55 p.m. for Salt Lake City to speak May 11. After engaging Canadian counsel he left Detroit to fulfill the rest of his engagements in Los Angeles and in San Francisco, returning to New York May 22.

Dr. Lamont was indicted for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions put to him by Senator McCarthy. The indictment was thrown out as faulty by Federal Judge Edward Weinfeld and the Dept. of Justice is now appealing Judge Weinfeld's decision.

William A. Reuben, author of **The Atom Spy Hoax**, was similarly barred from Canada last year, and last month Paul Robeson was barred after having been permitted an earlier visit.

Vote of thanks

DOYLESTOWN, PA.

. . . I couldn't finish this letter without giving a personal vote of thanks to all you wonderful people who put out the GUARDIAN. It has been my mainstay these past few years. People who once put on a pained look when I quoted the GUARDIAN are now asking me, "What does the GUARDIAN say?" **E. L. S.**

Cuba's unrest

(Continued from Page 1)

booms the island's salvation. Last year he admitted: "We have to be prepared in case Soviet Russia or Asia should get into a war with the United States."

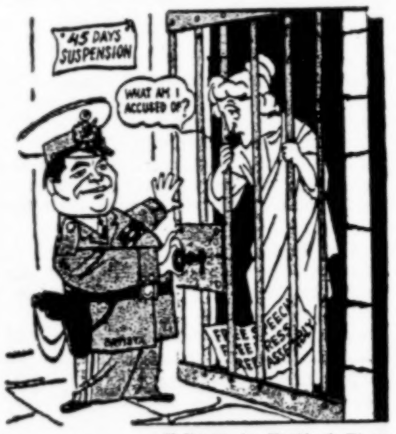
The likelihood of peace spells trouble for Batista. The International Sugar Council, which controls the sugar markets, has drastically cut the number of tons Cuba can sell this year to countries other than the U. S. The Sugar Act, which sets Cuba's quota of exports to the U. S., expires Dec. 31 and the fear that haunts the island is that the U. S. will further reduce its quota.

The sugar crop has fallen from 7,000,000 tons in 1952 to 4,610,000 in 1955 and the prices have dropped somewhat as well, drastically cutting the income of Cuban workers. At best the sugar fields employ a relatively small number of workers the year round, taking on seasonal labor when needed. Even with the harvesting done by machetes—hand labor which, though primitive, at least spreads the work to more hands—one-sixth of the population is unemployed.

TRADE WITH RUSSIA: Batista has pleaded but not fought against further reductions of the sugar quota. Since most of the island's sugar is in the hands of U. S. companies which prefer to market their own crop from the U. S. south, his polite lobbying in Washington seems futile.

To keep the lid from blowing off his dictatorship Batista dare not further curtail the cane harvest and must therefore find markets for his surplus. That harsh reality has driven this militantly anti-communist defender of the "free world" to trade enthusiastically with the U.S.S.R. Cuba sold half a million tons of sugar to the Soviet Union last year and this year hopes to sell more. R. Hart Phillips reported in the N. Y. **Times** (6/6):

"A walk through Havana's streets reveals where some of the money obtained from Soviet sugar sales is going. One can buy in the shops Pilsener beer, ham from Prague or Hungary, sausages from Poland, caviar and vodka from the Soviet, tiles and light bulbs from Czechoslovakia. The motorcycle market in Cuba, formerly held by the U. S. and Britain and later shared with West Germany, is being rapidly captured by Czechoslovakia. The new Skoda automobiles, which recently arrived, are being viewed by the surprised Cuban public.



Valtman in Hartford Times

"FIRST VICTIM"

"What makes the business so attractive to the Cubans are the quick deliveries and long-term credits offered, particularly on machinery, in contrast with the system of advance irrevocable credits placed in New York for purchases from U. S. exporters."

U. S. ATTITUDE: The **Times** said that socialist salesmen were offering "the most attractive prices and terms for the growing exports from the satellite countries of tractors, bicycles, machine tools, machinery for manufacturing plants, fertilizer, cement, agricultural and mining machinery and many cheap industrial products."

Apparently unconcerned by socialist competition on its doorstep the U. S. seemed to be doing business with Cuba at the same old stand and on the same old terms. When Batista pleaded for U. S. investments in Cuba to repair the damage done by the narrowing sugar market, a commission headed by Eric Johnston visited the island early this year. Johnston reportedly told the Cuban government that if it wanted to attract U. S. capital it ought to revise the workers' code which, passed in the island's better days, provides a number of safeguards; for example, the eight-hour day and the 44-hour week (for 48 hours' pay). Actually the code is frequently violated. In the harvesting season workers in the sugar fields and refineries work 8 hours continously without a break, seven days a week, a total of 56 hours, without the four hours extra pay provided in the 44-hour week.

FEROCIOUS COPS: The recommendations of Johnston, built up by Batista as a friend of Cuba, did little to halt the decline in the dictator's popularity. Since December the island has been in a ferment. The sugar workers struck in that month and other strikes have followed.

Students that month commemorating earlier student martyrs, were attacked by police who killed one, injured 50 and jailed 300. A week later at the end of the third inning in a baseball game at Havana stadium 30 students ran onto the field from the bleachers carrying a banner asking "liberty for the jailed students." **Time** magazine (12/19) reported:

"Before the students could get their banner unfurled, more than 100 club-carrying policemen swarmed in on them, cornered them against the left-field fence. Spectators screamed in horror and anger as savage blows rained down on the outnumbered, unarmed students, huddled on the outfield grass. After beating them into submission, the cops tied them up with strips torn from their bloodied banner and roughly herded them off to jail cells or hospital wards. The public display of nightstick law loosed a torrent of protests."

GOOD FISHING: The labor movement, over the threats of Batista's labor boss, Eusebio Mujal, has backed the students in stoppages and protests. But in these troubled waters Caribbean adventurers are fishing. Ex-President Carlos Prio Socarras was allowed to return to Cuba last fall and Batista has since treated him as a whipping boy, blaming most plots on him. Military putschists—some of them allegedly backed by the Dominican Republic's bloody dictator Rafael Trujillo—are hatching their own schemes.

Out of Cuba's maelstrom last month rode 70 men in six trucks. They attacked the garrison at Matanzas in what seemed a hopeless maneuver. The government admitted to slaying at least 15. Many others were captured. The government used the incident as a pretext to clamp down a news censorship and suspend all Constitutional liberties. The kettle was likely to boil all the more with the lid on.

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

rael to delay steps to tap the Jordan river on its own.

Nothing was settled about Egypt's blockade of the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba, although Hammarskjold is known to have held exploratory talks on this and other issues. The UN chief reportedly wants to return to the Middle East in June for further discussions to improve the situation.

ISRAEL-BURMA PACT: The basic problems of oil rivalry, feudal rulers fattening on oil royalties and trying to remain in power by maintaining regional conflicts, Arab acceptance not only of Israel's permanent existence but also of its present boundaries, Israel's integration with Asian nationalist aspirations, and recognition of Moscow's legitimate interests in the region—all these still remained to be solved before peace could be established in the Middle East. But there were hopeful signs.

Last month Israel and Burma signed an economic agreement which indicated a growing consciousness in Israel of its Asian destiny. The agreement, according to **Israel Horizons** (March 1956), provided for long-range Israeli-Burmese partnership in the establishment of manufacturing and agricultural enterprises in Burma and the execution of large-scale building programs there. Israel will supply production experts and management personnel for industrial enterprises. The Burmese government will lease acreage (ultimately to reach a million acres) to a joint enterprise for the cultivation of wheat, soybean and corn, which Israel now has to import from a great distance at excessive cost. The agreement is on a barter basis, Israel paying Burma in goods and services.

OUTLINE IS THERE: The joint Eden-Bulganin statement in London, calling for Middle Eastern peace through the UN, indicated at least British acceptance of Moscow's interests in the region. It also seemed to push into the background the 1950 tripartite pact (Britain, France, the U. S.) regarding the maintenance of arms balance and peace in the Middle East.

Although the British Foreign Office reasserted its support of the Baghdad Pact—which Moscow opposes—the N. Y. **Times** reported (5/5) from London:

"The bare outlines of a possible understanding on reconciling the conflicting interests of the Soviet Union and of the U. S. and Britain in the Middle East have become apparent here."

CONCESSIONS BY BOTH: As a result of conversations between the British government and Soviet leaders in London, the **Times** said the reconciliation "would rest basically upon policy concessions by both sides." According to the **Times** report Moscow would recognize London's and Washington's "vital economic interests" in the area; the Western powers would accept Moscow's concern in the area "because of the proximity of the Middle Eastern air bases, present and future, to the oil fields and industrial areas of the southern part of the Soviet Union."

The **Times** conceded that "if the understanding now under discussion is reached it will not provide" a solution to the Israel-Arab conflict. "But," it pointed out, "the understanding would create an easier atmosphere favoring a peaceful settlement."

People's World, San Francisco

"It says Dulles doesn't like the way the Indians are running India."

"FREE DISCUSSION IS HERE TO STAY"

How Poland took the Stalin reappraisal

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to The GUARDIAN

WARSAW

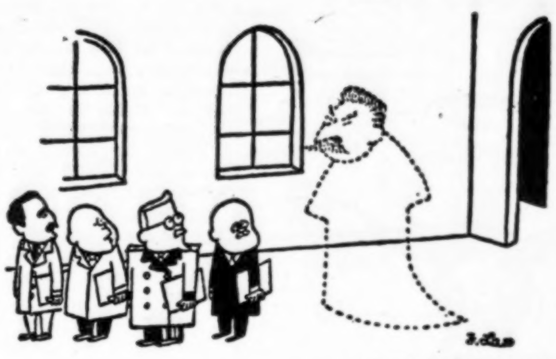
DURING the last few weeks I have received hardly a letter from abroad which did not ask: What is the reaction in Poland to the 20th Congress? And by the 20th Congress they really mean Khrushchev's discourse on Stalin at the closed session. This speech has now been read to party members—here, in the Soviet Union and presumably in many other countries—and the reading alone takes about 3½ hours.

The discussions which have resulted—as well as those which preceded it—have run the full gamut of human emotions. They have, I understand, everywhere been frank in the extreme; at times vehement, on occasion bitter. The cynics have, of course, been more cynical than before. Yet all discussions have shown one positive trait—in party meetings or without—a tendency toward free speech and reasoned discussion.

ONLY TIME WILL HEAL: Poland in many ways has been more fortunate than the rest of the socialist world. There have been no show trials and no executions, and the party's leadership, whatever else members and citizens may accuse it of, has no blood on its hands. Assuredly, Mr. Gomulka was imprisoned; he has been released and rehabilitated. Nor was he the only one, by any means. Hundreds of high functionaries in army, government and party shared his fate.

Releases still continue, but—and this, too, is important—they did not begin with the end of the 20th Congress; they began a long time ago. Nobody seems to have been physically maltreated; and yet, despite full rehabilitation, it is hard to make amends for years taken out of a man's life, for the psychological suffering and the mental anguish, not only of the former prisoners themselves but of their families and friends. Material restitution, professional and political rehabilitation are one thing; the traumatic experience is something that only time will heal.

WHERE WERE YOU? The question asked, time and again here (as elsewhere, one presumes), was: But when all this happened, where were you? Why were you silent? Why did you not protest? And, as an almost inevitable consequence, the audience itself answers its own question: If you did not protest, how can you now presume to remain our leaders? Resignations have been asked for, and some have been forthcoming. Resignations and dismissals.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Maybe I'll be rehabilitated in 25 years . . ."

In the course of the past few days, there have been some major changes in governmental posts of the highest consequence. Radkiewicz, Minister of Security during the Stalin era, and more recently Minister of State Farms, has been relieved of all functions, including that of membership in the Politbureau. He is still a member of the Central Committee—since only the Party Congress can change such membership—but this appears merely a matter of time.

Other dismissals have followed: Zarakowski, military prosecutor-general, state prosecutor general Kalinowski. Minister of Justice Swiatkowski has also been relieved of his post, and Minister of Culture Sokorski demoted to head of the Polish radio services.

A CHANGE IN CLIMATE: At the same time, the Sejm (the Polish Parliament) is in session, and the debate is lively, to say the least. For the first time in many years, both press and radio report discussions in full, without glossing over any divergences in view expressed from the floor. If democracy—in the sense that Westerners understand it—has not yet come fully to Poland, it is certainly taking a big step forward.

This, I believe, is the one factor which impresses one most: the change in climate. One Polish friend, an old-time Communist who suffered the penalty for frankness, although his stay in jail was only a matter of days, put it to me thus: "We have done something from which there is no return. We can never go back to the 'good old days' or the bad old days; we have tasted free discussion and now it is here to stay. But now we must also accept our duty as democrats as well as our rights. Democracy does not mean license. If it is to last, it imposes its own discipline. Today we are masters of our destiny. We must fashion it to good purpose."

SWINGING PENDULUM: I believe that is what the editorial in **Pravda** meant, too, when it lashed out against irresponsible elements who were using—or as the editorial said, abusing—free speech for their own ends. In the change-over there is always the danger of the pendulum swinging too far, it is said, and responsible people are careful not to throw the baby out with the bath. Having indulged in uncritical hero-worship for so long, it is easy to debunk now to the point of no return.

This has not happened here. It is expected that those who regarded Stalin as a man of genius but not a God (and there are many of them in the East as well as the West) will not fall into this trap. For those who have practised deification it is harder, for the demolition of idols is a painful job.

But many who have long and sincerely believed in socialism have also known that grievous errors have been committed; and some, both East and West, have not been silent about such errors. But they also believed that the day would come when the state of siege would give way to armistice and peace. And, when that day came, socialism would be able to permit a vastly wider measure of democratic freedom. If they had not believed it, they would have despaired.

Looking at it from Warsaw it appears that the dawn of that day has come.

The U. S. and Asia

(Continued from Page 1)

agreement with the visiting Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan. "In the next three years, **Time** (4/9) reported, "Russia will not only build a one million ton steel mill at Bhilai, Central India, but also supply India with a million tons of steel, almost a third of the country's imports under its second five-year plan.

"Along with shipments of cement, coal-mining and other machinery, this will build a $300,000,000 to $500,000,000 Russian credit in New Delhi by 1959. . . . The Indians agreed to set up a state trading corporation next month for the sole purpose of doing business with Communist countries. To organize Soviet purchase of Indian commodities, Russia's former Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Vasily Sergeev is now installed . . . in the New Delhi Soviet embassy." India also announced it would send some 5,000 steelworkers to the Soviet Union for training.

During Dulles' tour Cambodia's Premier Prince Sihanouk signed a treaty of friendship with China and declared his country would follow the foreign policy of India.

CAMPAIGN GIFTS: In the 22 hours he could spare for Indonesia, Dulles tried hard to convince President Soekarno of Washington's peaceful intentions, promised greater consideration for Indonesia's economic needs. Indonesian Premier Sastroamidjojo later proclaimed his readiness to trade with both the socialist and capitalist countries, and said: "We will continue to base our international relations on the principles of mutual respect and sovereign equality free from any military or political ties" (**AP**, 4/9).

During his one-day visit in Ceylon, Dulles sought the aid of Premier Kotelawala—who had staunchly defended U. S. military alliances at the Bandung conference—"in creating a better understanding of Western policies among Asian nations" (**AP**, 3/11). To help the Premier in his campaign for the April election, Dulles promised a $5,000,000 U. S. economic aid to Ceylon.

VOTERS NOT FOOLED: But the Ceylon electorate was not impressed by Dulles' visit and promise, nor did it believe with the N. Y. **Times** editors (4/8) that Kotelawala "had gained stature as a champion of human rights and liberties." The voters, on the contrary, agreed with the **Times'** Colombo correspondent's report appearing in the same issue as the editorial: "Sir John and his party have become too cocky . . . and have lost contact with the desires and the complaints of their own people. . . . The [Kotelawala] government did not speak for the mass of the eight million but for the elite."

Showing that "they know the meaning of the democratic process" (**NYT**, 4/8), the voters on election day practically wiped out Kotelawala's government and replaced it with a neutralist-minded center-left-Buddhist coalition headed by Solomon West Ridgway Diaz Bandaranaike. Kotelawala himself almost lost his own seat to a 22-year old newcomer, and the Labor Minister in his pro-Western Cabinet lost out to an unemployed messenger boy.

THE NEW PROGRAM: Bandaranaike and his party had campaigned on a platform of East-West coexistence, nationalization of industries and foreign-owned plantations, elimination of the British airbase at Nagombo and the naval base at Trincomalee, establishment of a Ceylonese Republic inside or outside the British Commonwealth.

In an interview with **U. S. News** (4/20), as Ceylon's new Premier, Bandaranaike declared his opposition to SEATO, METO and other such military alliances as threatening to "bring the world closer to war instead of away from it;" said that with 25 years of peace, much of the world will evolve "a type of democratic socialism;" advocated exchange of diplomatic missions between Ceylon and the socialist countries and cultural exchanges among all countries; expressed his willingness to accept economic cooperation from all countries without strings; and supported the five principles of peace and coexistence first enunciated by China's Chou En-lai and India's Nehru. Emphasizing that Ceylon wishes to establish friendly relations with all countries, Bandaranaike said at a press interview (**NYT**, 4/7): "We are not hostile to the U. S. How could I be hostile to a country that produced Mark Twain?"

WELL, THERE WERE A COUPLA LAFFS WHILE IT LASTED
Former Prime Minister Kotelawala and Eisenhower in Washington

NO ANSWERS: These events in Southeast Asia, together with Burma's signing of a new trade agreement with Moscow, and the call for freedom by the Malaya Fedn. and Singapore have demonstrated the rapidly growing Asian demand for economic as well as political independence. In such an Asia, as Keyes Beech reported (Washington **Post**, 4/22), American policy "has stood still, frozen, stiff, inflexible, in the military mold of the Korean war period." Only recently has there been some sign—but a very vague sign—that another agonizing reappraisal of U. S. Asian policy might be taking place in the minds of American political leaders.

In their speeches before the American Society of Newspaper Editors two weeks ago, both President Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson indicated some awareness of the changed world situation.

Neither, however, displayed any clear understanding of the issues involved, the questions raised by a rapidly changing world—and especially Asian—situation; nor did they chart any radically new American foreign policy. As Walter Lippmann commented (4/24): "Both speeches were made by men who are still at the stage of asking the questions, indeed of deciding what are the questions, rather than of preparing definitive answers."

THE STEINMETZ CASE

Professor fired by San Diego State denied a hearing by the Supreme Court

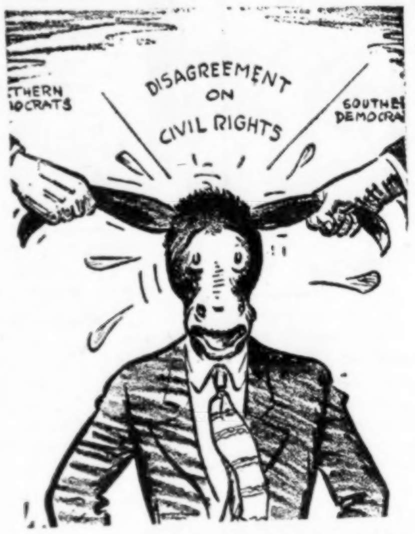
ON APRIL 23, the U. S. Supreme Court denied (6-2) a hearing to Prof. Harry C. Steinmetz, who was dismissed two years ago by San Diego State College for refusing to answer two questions about Communist Party membership.

The California State Board of Education had asked him these questions at a hearing held under the statute known as the Luckel Act, which requires public employes to answer questions about membership in subversive organizations. Steinmetz contended the Board of Education had violated his constitutional rights when it fired him.

On April 24, Steinmetz released the following statement:

"Refusal by the majority of the U. S. Supreme Court to review my case is shocking, for the Nelson and Slochower decisions should have settled it favorably. I am proud of the dissent in my favor of Justices Douglas and Black, for their defense of individual freedom is essential to the prevention of tyranny.

"The two California courts that heard my attorney dodged the fundamental constitutional questions that we raised. By refusing to review, the Supreme Court has denied me my day in court, and due process has been aborted, for no citizen can test constitutionality if the courts refuse to evaluate legal reasons for non-compliance. Furthermore, my actual non-compliance is debatable.



Christian Science Monitor

"LEND ME YOUR EARS"

IN 30 STATES: "I have been deprived of my position for more than two years solely for seeking, as a matter of principle, to test the constitutionality of a new and radical law limiting the freedom of public employees. The law, already on the books of nearly 30 states, permits the attainder of public employees for political inquisition without show of cause and then requires their dismissal for resistance for any reason, or for their resistance to legislative committees, without respect to contract and tenure, and hence without due process.

"A prominent Legionnaire has bragged that after 20 years of diligent effort he has had me fired from San Diego State College (for nothing pertaining to my good record there). The fact is that I dismissed myself rather than fully comply with the Luckel law. With one eye on the beckoning vacancy on the Supreme Court and the other on Brownell and McCarthy, Gov. Earl Warren signed this measure in 1953, and also several others like it, although he grumbled at the political necessity.

"Public employees in California (and maybe the U. S.) are now second-class citizens, as California State Supreme Court Justice Carter has honestly put it. The very essence of McCarthyism has been frozen into law and will remain there until this irresponsible decision is reversed.

IF THEY DESIRE: "I happen not to be a Communist but—believing it extremely important that Americans should be free to be Communists, if they desire to, without becoming conspirators or being harassed by conspirators—in a public humiliation ceremony before my state board of education I refused to say whether or not I am. (Incidentally one member of that board appointed by Earl Warren was indicted, soon after my hearing, for conspiracy to use force and violence in a labor dispute).

"By refusing to review in the Nelson case the court left sedition and 'conspiracy' questions assigned to the Federal government. The Slochower decision sustained the Fifth as modified by the Immunity Act. By refusing to review in the Steinmetz case the court is permitting local and state inquisitions of public employees without show of cause.

"Until the court proves itself concerned with justice for Communists, peace and democracy are unsafe, concessions rather than rights."

AT CARNEGIE HALL IN NEW YORK

Thomas, DuBois, Muste, Dennis, Baldwin at forum on America's role on May 27

A BROAD political discussion on "America's Road to Democracy and World Peace" will be held at Carnegie Hall in New York on May 27 under the auspices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The FOR, although "in fundamental disagreement with Communist philosophy," is sponsoring this forum because "events taking place on the international scene, including the recent startling developments in the government and the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, make such a discussion timely and of unusual importance."

Participants in the forum will be: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, noted Negro historian, co-founder of the NAACP and former editor of **The Crisis**; Norman Thomas, six-time Socialist Party presidential candidate; Eugene Dennis, Communist Party gen. secy.; and A. J. Muste, Presbyterian clergyman, one-time labor leader and secretary emeritus of the FOR. Roger N. Baldwin, former ACLU director and present head of the Intl. League for the Rights of Man, will be the moderator.

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Detroit

HARVEY O'CONNOR discusses his new book "The Empire of Oil" on Fri., May 18, 8 p.m. Highland Park YMCA, 13320 Woodward, 2nd floor. Cont. 75c. Auspices: Detroit Labor Forum.

Los Angeles

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Art Exhibit opening May 18. "The Echoing Hills", May 19, 20 and 26. Mozart's Freemason Cantata and George Neikrug, cello virtuoso, May 25. Pete Seeger Concerts, June 1 and 3. (The Paul Robeson concerts scheduled for these dates are cancelled due to illness of Mr. Robeson). For additional information re: Family Dance and Song Program, May 27 and films and lectures, write for brochure. **FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH**, 2936 West 8th Street. Dunkirk 9-9998.

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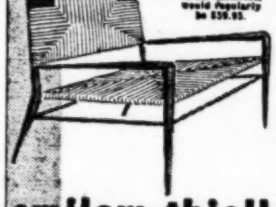

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the SPECTATOR

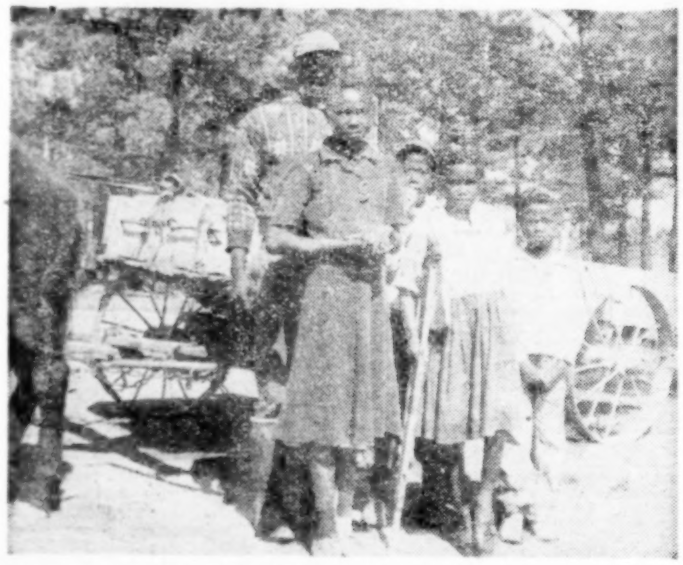
Bundles South

On March 19 the GUARDIAN printed a letter from the wife of a Texas Negro sharecropper, sent to us by Grace Koger, asking for shoes and clothing for her children. Last week we received a new letter from Mrs. Koger, and two others commenting on sending clothes to the South. We print all three below.

The joy of giving

LONGVIEW, TEX.

Thanks to GUARDIAN readers little Clement Jean (below with crutches) now has shoes, her brothers and sisters, including Dorothy Jean (front) are all togged out in "new" clothes and their daddy, a hard-working sharecropper, has a Sunday suit. A New York friend is responsible for the shoes. A Negro pastor of San Antonio furnished the suit.



Every day now our RFD carrier brings bundles—bundles from Maine to California, Michigan to Florida—along with letters of sympathy and encouragement mostly from working people, including some dear friends of our old union organizing days.

A well-known and beloved religious leader in Connecticut (one who is too Christ-like to please certain little men in high places) wrote that he and his wife are "at work bringing together a shipment of clothing." A Pennsylvania mother: "It is really awful that working people should have to wear old clothing, since they deserve the best of everything." A retired Florida railroader sent a few "dollars for duds" from his monthly pension check, etc.

We wish that you could share with us the joy of distributing the clothing and seeing the happy faces. They realize, of course, that this temporary help is not the final answer to their many problems. But it does fill a definite need.

Committees of mothers have been set up in this and nearby communities to assist in distribution. Local church leaders and school teachers are also helping to determine the most needy families. The need is still great.

Grace Koger
Rt. 3, Longview, Tex.

Dissent

BRISTOL, TENN.

Churches and other welfare agencies have used charity for ages and it has solved no basic problem. A few dribbles here and there, and the world is still full of hunger and misery.

Charity—the giving of something for nothing—dulls the edge of a people's potential militancy. It has a pauperizing effect upon those who receive it. It does not contribute to nor enhance understanding among the people of the need for struggle. To sponsor a program of giving poor people old clothes and such, leads to expecting something for free—without either labor or struggle. It leads away from an understanding of the need for unity in a common effort for jobs and decent wages for all.

What the South needs is a program of spreading understanding of the need for unity of all our people. A "missionary," "stooping down" attitude—even with many barrels of old clothes—will not help, but clog and hinder such a program.

W. C. Standridge

Do it yourself

TOLEDO, O.

Sending good used clothing to the people of the South is certainly helpful and to the good—but nothing can take the place of the thrill that comes to the children when they wear new things to school on the first day of the school year.

We can make many new things for the Southern children to wear when they enter school on opening day next fall—without spending money. Many people have odds and ends of material and wool for knitting.

A few suggestions—collect any and all material—use larger pieces for blouses, skirts, shirts, etc.—smaller pieces for hankies and kerchiefs and the smallest pieces for patch-work quilts. Material of all kinds can and should be used in this fashion. Also—some businessmen might give their odds and ends to be used for garments.

Small pieces of oilcloth or other suitable material can be used for simple stuffed animals

We can also collect pencils, crayons, good children's books—and include in packages, buttons, needles, thread and material for patching.

M.